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ABSTRACT

This study examined the issues and pressures that new and junior faculty of color experienced at predominantly white colleges and universities, and includes recommendations for administrators, graduate students, majority faculty, and faculty of color. Twelve African American and 19 Latino first-, second-, and third-year tenure-track faculty responded to a series of 43 questions about their perceptions of teaching and research, collegiality, institutional support, stress, and overall job satisfaction. Five faculty also participated in informal interviews. It was found that many respondents identified service to the university and students as primary role expectations. Other factors identified included lack of guidance and direction given for defining role expectations of research and teaching, inconsistent feedback and too much emphasis on accountability which tended to fuel stress, and varied levels of collegiality. It is recommended that institutions improve the likelihood of promotion and tenure of faculty of color through anticipatory socialization, orientation programs, promotion and tenure handbooks, mentor programs, and research and teaching productivity programs. It is concluded that administrators and faculties need to redefine organizational culture and the effect informal and formal policies and procedures have in defining role expectations and performances of faculty of color. (Contains 27 references.) (MDM)

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Mia Alexander-Snow and Barbara J. Johnson

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Faculty of Color and Role Performance

Mia Alexander-Snow and Barbara J. Johnson

Although there is much research on new and junior faculty role performance, there is little research focused exclusively on new and junior faculty of color[1] and their experiences at predominately white institutions. Much of what is known about faculty of color has been teased out of research conducted during the seventies and middle eighties--when there was strong public support for diversifying the nation's college/university faculties and student bodies--and from research focused on the difficulties many new and junior faculty face in adjusting to academic life, for example, loneliness, intellectual isolation, lack of collegial support, heavy work loads and time constraints (Boice, 1992a & 1992b; Sorcinelli, 1992).

Despite the lack of research on racial/ethnic issues affecting faculty of color, we know that faculty of color experience severe marginalization (Johnsrud, 1993). Some researchers attribute the lack of inclusion faculty of color experience as resulting from their social and cultural alienation by white colleagues; from their research being devalued and dismissed as not legitimate scholarship; and from being perceived as threats to the "status quo" by their white colleagues (Boice,Bronstein, Rothblum, & Solomon, 1993; 1992a). Consequently, many faculty of color have a difficult time learning the political and informal norms governing culture, and when they do, it is often too late into the promotion and tenure process (see also, Boice, 1992a, 1992b; Finklestein & LaCelle-Peterson, 1992).

[1] When drawing from research studies, other than the New Faculty Project, the term 'faculty of color' will refer to African American, American Indian, Asian American, and Latino/a faculty. When there is direct reference to The New Faculty Data set, the term 'faculty of color' will refer to African American and Latino/a faculty only.

Other researchers attribute the marginalization of faculty of color as primarily related to poor institutional fit, cross-cultural and social differences, and self-imposed perceptions of racial/ethnic discrimination by faculty of color (i.e., racism exists in the minds of faculty of color) (Gainen & Boice, 1993; Johnsrud, 1993; Finklestein, 1984). Some researchers argue that the promotion and tenure process is meritocratically based. Faculty of color are not denied tenure because of "departmental politics," "discrimination/racism," and "insensitivity to their research interests and perspectives" as noted by the National Latino Faculty Survey (Garza, 1993). Rather, faculty of color are being denied tenure because they have not met the standards of scholarship set by their respective departments/disciplines.

The purpose of this paper is to provide greater understanding to the issues and pressures new and junior faculty of color experience at predominately white institutions. This paper will explore the affect organizational culture, affirmative action programs, and psychosocial factors have on new and junior faculty of color perceptions of teaching and research, service, mentoring, stress, and collegiality. In reading, we hope that administrators and faculty will make concerted efforts to racially/ethnically/culturally diversify their faculties, recognizing that diversification promises the best of all worlds for community members.

Drawing from the interview data collected from The New Faculty Project[2], this paper explores the organizational and psychological factors impacting the professorial roles and expectations of twelve African American and nineteen Latino/a first, second, and third year

[2] The New Faculty Project was designed to study newly hired faculty at four types of institutions (Research-1, Comprehensive-1, Liberal Arts-1, and Two-Year) over three-year span. Two-hundred and twenty-three surveys were mailed to newly hired faculty members at five institutions geographically located in the Midwestern, Southwestern, and Western parts of the country. Of the 223 surveys mailed, 176 were completed and returned (79% return rate). Forty-one percent of the total population participated in the 50-minute interview.

tenure-track faculty. They represent the humanities, social sciences, natural sciences, and applied and professional fields. The ratio of females to males is 10:21. Approximately fourteen are concentrated at the comprehensive college level, eight at the community college level, six at research-I institutions; and three at liberal arts institutions.

Faculty of color were each asked a series of forty-three questions about their perceptions of teaching and research, collegiality, institutional support (i.e., mentoring, collaborative opportunities for teaching and research, and funding), stress, and overall job satisfaction at their respective colleges and universities.

Because the New Faculty Project was not designed to focus explicitly on new and junior faculty of color, and not all responded to each of the forty-three questions, much of what was gathered about faculty of color, reflects only bits and pieces of their academic lives. To shed greater light on the complexities of their experiences, we have supplemented the data from The New Faculty Project with additional interview data gathered from our informal conversations with five new and junior faculty of color (2 African American females, 1 Latino/a female and 1 Latino/a male, and 1 African American male), also representing a cross section of disciplines and institution types. Each of the five interviewee were asked to explain some of the challenges confronting new and junior faculty of color, with regards to research, teaching, and service.

We recognize that gender, institution type, discipline, and years in the field, indirectly influence perceptions of role expectations and role performance; however, the focus of this chapter is on the affect race/ethnicity have on faculty of color perceptions of their role expectations and performance. The paper closes with recommendations and questions for

administrators, graduate students, majority faculty and faculty of color to stimulate reflection and discussion.

Faculty of Color in Higher Education

The US Department of Education (1991) reported in academic year 1987-1988 that of 489,000 full-time faculty only eight-ten percent of the faculty positions in higher education were occupied by faculty of color (Tack and Patitu, 1992). Approximately seven years later in academic year 1994-95, the Southern Education Foundation (1995) reported that faculty of color only accounted for twelve percent of the professoriate. On the surface, a 2-4 percent increase reflects progress--however slight--but is very misleading for one primary reason. Faculty of color are disproportionately represented at two-year institutions and historically black colleges and universities (Schneider, 1997; Southern Education Foundation, 1995), meaning that the presence of faculty of color at four-year predominantly white institutions is severely lacking.

The 1995-1996 Higher Education Research Institute survey reflected a significant gap between faculty of color and white faculty who attained full professorship. Approximately, 11,895 white faculty had attained full professor status compared to 8,500 American Indians, 6,118 African Americans, and 5,778 Latino scholars (Schneider, 1997). In contrast however, there were sometimes twice as many faculty of color in the position of instructor/lecturer than there were white faculty (5,778 white faculty in comparison to 10,876 Latino, 8,837 American Indian, and 6,798 African Americans). These findings reveal the paucity of faculty of color in higher levels of academic employment, illustrating a need for greater research in examining the promotion and tenure of faculty of color in higher education.

Organizational Culture and Psychosocial Factors Affecting Faculty of Color Role Performance

Organizational Culture

American institutions of higher education are microcosms of society at large, with a history of socially, politically and economically disenfranchising people of color. Most faculty and administrators at predominately white colleges and universities are cognizant that their institutions are steeped in a culture that often perpetuate racist stereotypes and racial discrimination, whereby racism permeates the social knowledge of its community members. Blackburn and Lawrence (1995) define social knowledge as representing how individuals perceive their environments, such that what is taken as socially 'real' will define individuals' understandings of the various aspects of that environment. They state that

> faculty form beliefs from experiences with colleagues, administrators, committee decisions, faculty meetings, institutional rules and norms, and professional association practices. These beliefs constitute their social knowledge. These perceptions motivate their behaviors. Some environmental responses confirm the currently held social knowledge. Other responses motivate faculty to revise their environmental perceptions and to modify their behaviors" (p. 99).

For example, a predominately white college or university that reflects a token number of faculty of color may be perceived by faculty of color as unwelcoming and cause for suspect with regards to the institutions commitment to the success of faculty of color. Thus faculty of color may not necessarily reveal their 'true selves'. Many will don a "white mask," only to be removed when they perceive the environment as accepting, and conducive for open and honest dialogue, whereby later their words will not be used as weapons against them.

Unless faculty of color are in an environment that they perceive as trusting, rarely will the "white mask" be removed. Consequently, it is difficult to truly understand the impact race and ethnicity have on the socialization experiences of faculty of color at predominately white colleges and universities.

Affirmative Action Programs

Researchers, such as Thomas Sowell (1975), attribute much of the difficulty faculty of color experience in their integration into the culture of the institution as the residual effects of the climate from early affirmative action practices. Institutional practices such as type-casting, tokenism, brown on brown research, and the one-minority-per-pot syndrome, "are generally covert, and are often masked by adherence to a mythical meritocracy regarding professional qualifications that subtly favors whites and limits the access and opportunities for faculty of color" (de La Luz Reyes & Halcon, 1991, p. 168). These former affirmative action programs "implicitly make all faculty of color --those with extraordinary qualifications as well as those who are merely acceptable-- suspect in the minds of white faculty" (Banks, 1984, pp. 333-334).

> "There are only two faculty of color in my department" states an African American male. "Prior to my coming here, there were none. I was the one and only. Wow, and that was six years ago . . . and look there is only one other now besides myself--and she got in because she is good friends with one of the faculty members in our department; they went to the same graduate school. It really makes you wonder. I have tried to get others to come here. . . . When a position for assistant professor came open in our department, I encouraged one of my colleagues to apply. I knew she would get it, I mean she had all the qualifications. Our department was looking for someone who had research interests in ethnic, gender, race and diversity issues. Perfect, so I thought. Well, she didn't get it. The talk was that she didn't have enough publications and some faculty weren't impressed with her research--of course no one told this to me face-to-face, it was what I heard through the grapevine--three weeks later the department hires a white male, who has the same research interests as my colleague. A big 'plus' in his favor was that he had connections with one of the leading researchers in our field."

Essentially affirmative action policies create an environment that reduces the effectiveness of faculty of color, increasing their sense of anomie where faculty of color become mistrusting of the existing rules as being applied across racial/ethnic lines both equally and justly (Feagin, Vera and Imani, 1996). They indirectly affect the perceptions faculty of color have about their 'place' and 'role' at predominantly white colleges and universities. Thus, faculty of color feel great pressure to 'fit' into the white campus atmosphere (Banks, 1984).

Psychosocial Adjustments

The issues affecting role performance for faculty of color are not very different from those impacting new hires in general. Many new and junior white faculty experience loneliness, intellectual isolation, lack of collegial support, heavy work loads, and time constraints (Boice, 1992a & 1992b; Sorcinelli, 1992) . However, unlike their white colleagues, faculty of color enter the predominately white institution with the legacy of tokenism-- "the myth that all minorities entered, and continue to enter the system only under special admission" (de la Luz Reyes & Halcon, 1991, p. 173). For example, it is not uncommon for faculty of color to hear white colleagues recount stories of how their non-white peers received coveted positions because they were in "demand" or were perceived as a "scarce commodity." To these white colleagues, race or ethnicity is the determiner for landing the job, and not the qualifications that faculty of color bring with them. It is this belief by some white colleagues that indirectly influences the psychosocial adjustment of faculty of color. And thus many, if not most, faculty of color find themselves modeling the old adage, "if you are a person of color, you have to work twice as hard to get what has already been given to white colleagues."

Factors Affecting Faculty of Color Role Expectations and Role Performance

The remainder of the paper provides a discussion of the factors affecting faculty of color role expectations and role performance, followed by strategies for contending with the work environment for faculty of color, department chairs and majority faculty. Please note that some recommendations may be applicable to not only faculty of color but to all new and junior faculty.

Service

"Committee work--should participate, but it is the kiss of death. It's a Catch 22—minority. . . means you are asked more frequently. . I am committed [to my students] and I involve my students and make a personal connection. . . [But] what is really meant by serving the student. How far should I go?"

Many of the new and junior faculty of color from The New Faculty Project and our informal conversations identified service to the university and students as primary role expectations. As a result many faculty of color have little to no time to cultivate their research expertise. They experience what Padilla (1994) defines as "cultural taxation." They are obligated "to show good citizenship toward the institution by serving its needs for ethnic representation on committees, or to demonstrate knowledge and commitment to a cultural group, which may even bring accolades to the institution, but which is not usually rewarded by the institution on whose behalf the service was performed" (cited in Tierney and Bensimon, 1996, p. 75). "Rather than being allowed --and indeed encouraged--to concentrate on their academic work, many [are] sucked into a plethora of activities often unrelated to their competence and interests" (Banks, 1984, p. 327). An African-American faculty member our informal conversations had the following to say about committee work.

> You are expected to be on committees that require a lot of time commitment when most white faculty, especially males and then entry level...1st year or 2nd year like that...they don't have to do that type of service because there are senior people who can

> do it...the tenured professors can do it. I remember I was on one committee, a college committee - a very important committee and I am not going to name it but I was the sole African American for about 2 years and the sole untenured person on a committee of about 25 people. There was another African American an administrator that was added when a new Dean came in ... so that's one factor...So you get asked to be on university-wide committees which is unusual before you get tenure.

This faculty member further elaborated on role expectations and students,

> In your department, many students not just students of color want to work with a minority faculty person or female faculty person and then I'm both of those things again - so you get a lot of students who are interested in studying with you because of who you are one but also because of your area of specialization too. Anyone interested in my subject area whether in my department or not will seek me out so I get people from all over the university."

Consequently, faculty of color are not only expected to be involved in "mainstream activities" such as being counselors, advocates, consolers and role models for students of color, but they are also expected to be very much involved in "minority service work," such as those involving affirmative action, ethnic related activities, and the recruitment and retention of ethnic students (Tierney & Rhoads, 1994).

Additionally, faculty of color perceive they may suffer negative consequences for declining committee assignments. For example when the African-American female quoted above talked about serving on the university committee, the interviewer asked if she had the opportunity to say no to serving on the committee and she remarked,

> The Dean asked me and I was vulnerable and felt that if I said no I might not get a favorable review. You feel the pressure and I think that administrators knowing they have that kind of power over people shouldn't even ask them to take those kind of positions.

White colleagues often tell new and junior faculty of color that the service demands for faculty of color are not any more overwhelming and time consuming than they are for any other faculty member. However, some faculty of color who participated in the informal conversations

felt that the degree of social pressure to perform service, especially "minority services" was different for them than their white colleagues and some faculty of color. They felt they had a moral responsibility to be involved with students of color and their own cultural communities; their primary responsibilities were to their own.

Garza (1993) found that "too much minority service" has a negative impact on minority faculty in at least two important ways: "1) indirectly distracting the minority scholar from research, writing and publishing; and 2) engaging in activity that is itself negatively evaluated and/or is seen by others as impeding true scholarship"(p. 39). And yet, sixty-eight percent of the African American and fifty-seven percent of the Mexican-American faculty who participated in the 1995-1996 Higher Education Research Institute survey, identified community service, (defined by a commitment to developing the moral character of students, readying them for employment, and preparing them for responsible citizenship), as an essential professional goal (Schneider, 1997). Research by Astin, Antonio, Cress and Astin (1997) confirms that African American, Latino and American Indian faculty members at predominantly white institutions are more likely than white faculty to value providing services to the community as an essential or important professional goal. Subsequently, many new and junior faculty of color in our study recognize that they are caught in a Catch 22. Colleges and universities need and expect faculty of color to perform "minority service" roles, but to meet this expectation means many may fall short of other expectations, such as research, writing, and publishing.

Recommendations

Faculty of Color

First, during the interview, discuss with the department chair how faculty are selected for committees. Find out what committees new faculty generally participate in and what is the average number of committees new faculty are expected to participate in, in order to fulfill the service requirement. Second, talk to faculty within the department, particularly faculty of color, to discern what committees require a great deal of time commitment and which offer good experience. Ask faculty of color about the committees they participate in and find out if they are overloaded with committee work. Third, prioritize time. Devote time to tasks that carry the most weight in the promotion and tenure process at your institution (for example, writing for publication and teaching at research-oriented institutions). Any additional time could then be used for engaging in committee work. Fourth, choose which committees you serve on wisely and learn to say no. Ask yourself how participation on a proposed committee will benefit your quest to obtain promotion and tenure. Determine if committee activities will interfere with teaching and research productivity, and if so, do not participate. Make sure committee work encompasses a broad range of issues, not just ethnic-related issues. Find out the time commitment necessary – if the committee meets year-round or only for a semester or on a monthly or weekly basis. Learn to say, "No," when service obligations will hinder promotion and tenure. Fifth, service to the community of students is commendable and should be recognized by your department. Make your colleagues aware of the time you spend advising/mentoring students and involved with your own cultural/ethnic community.

However do not let your outside service work consume the time you should be dedicating to research, writing and publishing. Sixth, do not allow advising/mentoring to occupy too much of your time. Continue to work with students, but do not overload yourself with student related commitments. Choose student projects (i.e. independent and directed studies) just as you would committee work. Choose only those that you feel can either advance your own scholarship, make a difference, and/or are not time consuming.

Department Chair

First, ensure new faculty, particularly faculty of color, are not overloaded with committee assignments and advising. Second, ask faculty of color to participate on a variety of committees and not those focused entirely on ethnic-related issues. Third, encourage faculty of color to discuss committee responsibilities with you and ensure them they will not be penalized for declining additional committee responsibilities.

White Faculty

First, assist faculty of color in balancing their workloads because of the multiple time demands they encounter as faculty of color. Help set up schedules blocking time for writing or teaching and encourage to maintain the schedule. Second, monitor committee work to ensure faculty are not overloaded and are able to devote the necessary time to activities that will carry significant weight in the promotion and tenure process. Identify committees that are not time consuming and provide good overall experience. Third, redefine promotion and tenure criteria to be more encompassing of the diverse services faculty of color are expected to perform.

Teaching and Research

"[We are] expected to design new courses [outside our interests and still have] high quality of teaching. . . They expect us to publish and be well known internationally, [but our research is not scholarly enough]. . . What [is] the right combination?"

It is not uncommon for new and junior faculty, regardless of race, to find themselves frustrated by the lack of guidance and direction given for defining the role expectations of research and teaching. When asked about expectations that were not clear, an African American male remarked,

> For tenure they say two articles or a book or whatever. I've made up my own rules for what I should do based on what I think I understand of all the expectations. I'll have a couple of articles and several conference papers.

On the one hand, this faculty member demonstrates autonomy, self-direction, and personal achievement. On the other hand, this faculty member could be heading down a road towards self-destruction. When review comes around, he may find himself sorely lacking in publications, thereby illustrating that direction is paramount

An African American female with great frustration remarks,

> Overwhelming to think I'd have to keep up this rate of production. No time to publish. I'm told teaching is utmost importance but people are terminated for not publishing. Yet those who evaluate us have not published. They don't even know which journals are refereed and which are not . . . I'm writing a book and couldn't stop for vacation. I can't balance so I focus on one thing at a time. When not teaching, all I do is committee work.

An African American female from our informal conversations, comments,

> One of the first things my department chair told me was that I would be teaching a multicultural course. Can you believe that? My research interests have nothing to do with multiculturalism and here I am not only having to teach multiculturalism, but also having to design the course. When I asked, 'Why me?'I was told that there was no other person qualified to teach the course. Umm, I guess my race qualifies me.

Sorcinelli (1992) asserts that new faculty have cited chairs as instrumental in clarifying expectations and helping balance workloads and time constraints, thus the department chair plays a critical role in the success of faculty of color. In fact, the most effective department chairs take time to assign courses that fit new faculty interests and require minimal new course preparation, as well as providing guidance for annual reviews.

Frierson (1990) concluded that faculty of color feel pressure to focus on research interests deemed acceptable by white colleagues which may result in an intellectually and professionally stifling academic environment because of the pressure to conform to mainstream research standards. Additionally, faculty of color face criticism that their research is not published in the right journals or their research is not research but service and teaching (Bronstein, 1993 in Luna and Cullen, 1995).

A Latino faculty member explains,

> When I came I had several publications under my belt - I mean I just knew I was ahead of any of the other new faculty in my department. One day I asked my department chair to review an article I was writing for the *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*. He made some comment about the journal not being a true refereed journal, and that it was a waste of my time. But that it was good preparation for stronger journals like the *American Behavioral Scientist.* Statements like that make me nervous. It let's me know that my department chair doesn't value my research, unless it's in the 'right' journals.

Recommendations

Faculty of Color

First, submit a brief portfolio for teaching and for writing that includes a brief statement about research interests, how you see research influencing other areas and educational philosophy (Boice, 1992b).

We strongly suggest that job candidates write this portfolio with their dissertation chair prior to submitting for review. If they receive feedback, they would have a better idea of what is expected early in the hiring process and members of the hiring organization would have a better idea of candidates' expectations and abilities. The portfolio is really the opportunity for candidates to present their strengths, as well as an opportunity for them to size-up the institution PRIOR to the face to face interview. Second, Tierney and Rhoads (1994) suggest that during the actual face to face interview, questions directed by candidates should directly relate to the institution or department's norms and values. For example, if an institution values research and an expected norm is to engage in prolific scholarship, and the candidate is looking for a position that also values teaching, the candidate may want to ask, "How is teaching valued by the department?" which could help establish "fit" between the individual and institution.

Third, during job interviews, discuss with department chair prospective courses you might be asked to teach. This would give you the opportunity to see whether the courses you might be asked to teach correlate with your competency. Also, address why you might be asked to teach certain courses, particularly ethnic-related courses. Fourth, during the interview process, ask questions about the promotion and tenure process, i.e., what is the average number of publications expected for promotion and tenure. What are the approximate hours they expect faculty to engage in research, teaching, and service? Asking these questions will help you better understand role performance and expectations. Fifth, ask for a list of journals that are approved by the department. If key journals your research would likely be published in are not on the list you need to discuss this concern with the department chair prior to job acceptance.

Otherwise you are destined for failure if none of the journals you expect to publish in are included on the department's list of approved journals. Sixth, use department meetings and informal faculty discussions to bring out examples of scholarly research from non-mainstream journals. This will expose faculty in the department to these journals and assist in breaking down stereotypes they may have about the quality of these journals. Seventh, take a stand and "be true to thyself." We understand what a difficult task this may be for some more than others, but it is a pretty good guide for navigating the political and social worlds of academia. Stay focused on your research interests and do not surrender to pressure to conform to mainstream research interests.

Department Chair

First, compile a list of journals that all faculty feel are important contributors to their scholarly activity. Ensure this list of journals is representative and there are journals that faculty of color can publish, otherwise you may be setting them up to fail in the promotion and tenure process. Second, do not judge journals/research based on your perceptions of what defines scholarship. Be aware of your own biases and be open to differences in research methodology and interests. Third, ensure faculty of color are teaching courses in their major area of interest and not overly concentrated in areas outside their research emphasis, specifically ethnic-related courses. Be sensitive and do not assign ethnic-related courses to faculty of color because of their ethnicity, which further marginalizes them and denies exposure to other courses. Fourth, negotiate minimal new course preparations or reduced loads and provide guidance for annual reviews.

White Faculty

First, recognize brown-on-brown or ethnic related research as legitimate scholarship. Second, accept publications in top racial and ethnic journals, e.g., *Journal of Negro Education,* as encompassing legitimate scholarly writing and worthy of consideration in the publication ranks since these publications are often refereed as well.

Stress

"inadequate feedback," "subtle discrimination," and "promoting racial understanding"

Faculty of color often describe their academic appointments as providing a sense of personal autonomy, a sense of accomplishment, the capacity to have an impact on others, and the capacity for intellectual and personal growth. When asked to identify some of the factors that indirectly affected their stress levels, most new and junior faculty of color from The New Faculty project felt that "feedback was inconsistent and contradictory...not helpful . . .[nor] useful. . . [and that there was] too much emphasis on accountability [and] not enough on constructive criticism."

In their study of new and junior faculty, Blackburn and Lawrence (1995) found that the level of feedback affects individuals' perceptions of themselves and their environments, and ultimately, their role performance.

> "I am really confused about how well I am doing in teaching my cultural issues class," comments a Latino faculty member. "Most of my students are Anglo and have told me that this is the first multicultural class they have taken. Of course there are some students who enjoy the class and there are other students who are having a really tough time dealing with some of the issues. I was really disturbed to learn that those students who are having a hard time with my class aren't coming to me and talking to me, they are instead 'complaining' about my class to other faculty or the Dean. . . I guess they must have said some pretty harsh things, because when my department chair came to me to discuss my teaching, he mentioned that he had heard I was having a hard time with my class from the Dean and the other faculty. And he left it at that. He didn't even offer me advice as to ways that I could teach the course.

> He merely handed me a bunch of course syllabi— of course nothing like I am teaching—and apologized for not knowing more about my subject matter. . . Now I find myself trying to create balance, but not really knowing where to begin, and wondering what else is being said that I do not know. . . And wondering whether my ineffective teaching will be of concern when I come up for review."

Tack and Patitu (1992) assert the importance of feedback in alleviating the stress faculty of color often experience, by reminding us that "virtually all employees value being praised for their work and being given credit where credit is due, especially by supervisors and colleagues whose judgments they respect" (p. 15).

"Although stress resulting from subtle discrimination is down since 1989--especially Latino/a faculty, who show a drop from fifty-four to forty-one percent --it should be noted that nearly half of all faculty of color still report subtle discrimination as a source of stress" (Schneider, 1997, p. A13).

> I have been working at my college for about three years, and whenever I meet up with other white faculty members who find out I am a professor, they always ask if I am teaching at one of our area historically black colleges and universities. When I tell them I am a faculty member in the sociology department at [the same institution they are] they look at me with surprise. Some will even ask me about my 'credentials.' Oh, I was so angry. The nerve of them to question my worth.

A 1993 Princeton University report noted the destructive effect that storing up "subtle discrimination" can have on individual stress levels.

> One day I was discussing student achievement with my associate dean, when he said, 'I know I probably shouldn't say this, but don't you think African Americans are low achievers.' I was totally taken aback. My initial reaction was to tell him to go to 'hell.' But I thought better of it. I knew if I became too defensive, my associate dean would not take whatever I had to say seriously, and if I became too emotional, I would come across as defensive, which he would then use as reason to ignore my argument. I realized that if I wanted to make him think about the irrationality of his insult against me and my people, I needed to address it from his perspective, which I think I was quite successful in doing . . . I find it interesting all the energy that was expended over what my associate dean would characterize, as 'harmless'. . . Afterwards, I became physically sick.

Faculty who do not have "outlets" to relieve their stress are at the greatest risk for high blood pressure and heart attacks. Some of the interviewees from The New Faculty Project noted health issues as involving "chronic bronchitis," and "personal crises" which they attempted to alleviate by "long summer breaks," "reading," "sleeping," and "psychotherapy." A few of the interviewees from both our informal conversations and The New Faculty Project commented on having some special place outside their college or university community that was reaffirming for them.

A Mexican American female explained,

> I find being with people of my own culture enables me to let down my guard, vent a little, and appreciate all that I and others around me have to give. If I didn't share time with others of my culture, I would really, really, really be stressed.

An African American female explained,

> Whenever I am really stressed, I turn to my church community. I am always amazed at how spiritually uplifting it is to be around people who look like me and understand where I am coming from. They seem to instinctively know what it means to be 'black'. When I see a black church, I have to smile, because it's comforting to know that when things get really bad, there will be a place that will provide me love, respect, and spiritual upliftment. I guess you could say, the black church is my home away from home.

Eighty-eight percent of African Americans, eighty-three percent of Mexican Americans, and seventy-nine percent of Puerto Ricans, who responded to the 1995-1996 Higher Education Research Institute survey, cited "promoting racial understanding " as their second personal goal, following teaching and service (Schneider, 1997, p. A13). Most new and junior faculty of color interviewed felt that the greatest contributor to their stress was the lack of cultural understanding they received from their white colleagues.

> I explained to one of my white colleagues that one of the most frustrating things about working in a predominately white setting is that at times I am utterly exhausted at

> the end of the day. . . And that at times I find it tough coming in trying to change the world through my words and deeds. I told him that when you are the only African American male among 25 white males, the energy spent breaking down racial stereotypes and dodging racial slurs, would knock down David himself. . . Do you know what my white male colleague said? 'Well, we all have our crosses to bear.'

Recommendations

Faculty of Color

First, understand that the nature of this business is very stressful. Identify the cause of stress and how you can take control of it. If it is quantifiable, such as trying to balance your time demands, then it is just a matter of your setting priorities (review the recommendations for teaching and research, and role of service). Second, if your stress is based on ambiguity and lack of direction and/or guidance, you need to seek out assistance. We suggest you go to your department chair, other new and senior faculty members, and ask them directly for help. For example, you would like some guidance in teaching strategies, and your department head has not been helpful. Find faculty members in your department who you have heard to be outstanding teachers. Ask to sit in on their classes, to meet with them to discuss teaching strategies, to review your syllabi for pointers, and/or to sit in on your classes and provide you with feedback. Third, if your stress is based on being "different," such as a result of having a different cultural perspective, different research interests, and your trying to "fit in," you should step back and again put things in perspective. Create space in your life that allows you to become reaffirmed and comfortable. You may need to seek places outside the university community, i.e. church, recreation facilities. This is okay. However, we suggest that you first look to places that are frequented by colleagues in your department.

This way just as you are finding space where you are comfortable, you are also making connections with your department. Fourth, if you are exhausted by the burden of promoting racial/ethnic understanding, you need to allow time to take its course. Remember that you are one person, and that the institution where you are employed was not created in a day, but in many, many years. Yes, you may not feel like you are not making a difference, but you are. Your very presence is changing the culture and fabric of your institution. Be patient, but not stupid. Continue to teach and work your deeds, and hold steadfast in your principles. Remember you will be challenged. However, if you find that you are continually feeling defeated and that little or no progress is being made, it may be a sign that you need to leave. If this is the case, look at your leaving as a "positive" and not a "negative." The lessons you have learned will help you at your next place of employment.

Department Chair

First, understand that the department chair is instrumental in making the transition into the department, college or university relatively stress free for new and junior faculty, but particularly for faculty of color. Second, to alleviate the lack of guidance and direction, set aside some time during departmental meetings to engage in "conversations" about teaching, research, and service. Have a set topic, such as "tools for effective teaching strategies" and have your most respected teaching faculty facilitate the conversations. This way faculty of color, as well as other new faculty, can formally and informally learn the teaching, research, and service practices rewarded by the department. Third, encourage faculty to have "brown bag seminars." These seminars can occur once a month in the early morning during the breakfast hour; during the lunch hour; and during the dinner hour.

Faculty can discuss their research interests and develop networking ties with other faculty members in and outside their departments and college. Fourth, accept that faculty of color will be seen as being "different." Do not minimize their feelings with flippant cliches. Lead your faculty in accepting that most faculty of color are about promoting racial understanding. Be an advocate of their cause. Be a listener, and help faculty of color spread their works. For example, if you know faculty have stereotypical views of minority research, educate those faculty. Don't leave it in the hands of faculty of color. If you don't know where to begin, ask. Extend yourself outside the comfort zones.

White Faculty

First, believe it or not, no one knows how stressful academe can be more than faculty of color. So, if you are experiencing stress, chances are your non-white colleague is as well. If you know of ways that have helped you to cope with some of the stress that you have experienced, especially within your department share them with faculty of color. Second, engage in discussion with faculty of color about teaching, research, and service. Don't accept their "silence." Be open to the "differences." Understand their mission. Listen and accept. Promote racial/ethnic understanding. Accept that what happens happens, and do not invalidate the experience. For example, a non-white faculty member states that racism is behind his/her mistreatment. Rather than responding with the phrase, "it could be other things than race." Respond with, "let's look at why it could be race." This opens the dialogue without the non-white faculty member having to prove his/her perception is legitimate. It also allows you to see the other side. It makes it easier for you to be the "devil's advocate," providing another perspective for the non-white faculty

member, without your becoming defensive. Third, if you consider yourself an advocate for faculty of color, then be an advocate. Voice your beliefs about racial injustice and support the efforts of faculty of color towards racial/ethnic understanding, even if it means you may have to be uncomfortable.

Collegiality

"Instructors give forums for each other; people share research opportunities. We mainly have informal relationship; faculty visit each other's homes for celebrations. We have tailgate parties. We talk in the halls. Basically interpersonal relationships are friendly."

Strong collegiality brings greater opportunity for faculty to exert more influence and contribute professionally and personally to the academic community, such as being sources for ideas, constructive critics and strong motivational encouragers of scholarly work (Blackburn & Lawrence, 1995). Participants in the New Faculty Project and informal conversations felt there was a strong sense of collegiality in their departments. Many talked about having collegial friendships, someone to talk to about things. They felt comfortable calling on individuals and asking about teaching strategies.

While the experiences of some interviewee comments reflected a sense of collegiality and inclusion there were some that felt alienated, unwelcome, unappreciated and unwanted in social and professional interactions.

> "I don't like the atmosphere here--in committees I feel they think I'm ignorant. I just stay quiet. They do not accept my view. I feel dismissed and patronized. For example, when I brought up an important issue somebody gave me an article saying, I should read it. But I'd of course already read it. He seemed to think I was really dumb," commented an African American woman.

Additionally, faculty of color feel pressure to continually prove they deserve the positions because they perceive their colleagues assume they were hired to satisfy affirmative active purposes (Menges and Exum, 1983; de la Luz Reyes and Halcon, 1991; Johnsrud, 1993).

> [I'm finding] the American culture emphasizes cultural differences and political correctness, but it's false. It's very closed here. I feel like a specimen, filling a slot, as a Hispanic woman. I'm planning to leave.

Blackwell (1988) found only one in eight African American faculty has a mentor. Most of our interviewees noted having a mentor, however there was an even split as to whether or not they still had a working relationship with their mentors.

> "My contact person is a mentor for a limited time--one month. I don't know if that will continue."

> "The relationship [with my mentor] has gotten kind of cold this semester."

> "I've been away some, and [my mentor and I] have opposing teaching schedules. So we don't see each other very much."

Although most gave strong ratings for their desire for mentoring, stating that they often engaged in meeting and talking with each other, there were some who had frustrations with the lack of mentors and their department's lack of commitment to mentoring faculty of color.

An African American female was the most strident in voicing disappointment with the lack of effort by white senior male faculty in mentoring faculty of color.

> I would see some of my white junior colleagues being mentored by older white professors, senior white professors. I would see them take action with those people and would actually initiate it--like recruit them to work on a project with them or write a grant proposal with them--whereas nobody did that with me.

When asked, "think back to your decision to accept a position here. Circumstances being the same and knowing what you know now, would you choose to work [here]?"

One African American female responded,

> No. The workload is unmanageable . . . I like to write, do research, and I like to teach. It's just the volume here that is the problem. I wish I could find the knob to turn down the volume . . .Nothing prepared me for the politics, lack of procedures, absence of clear guidelines .

Whereas one of her white male colleagues commented,

> Yes! No reservations. An ideal job, school environment, quality of the teaching. It reminds me of my undergraduate experience . . . High standards. Graduate school didn't prepare me for teaching, but has prepared me for this job . . . Faculty there were demanding, professional. That changed me. Their commitment to education, their enthusiasm. Sense of what an academic is and does.

A white faculty member from the New Faculty Project commented,

> I stepped on campus—I don't believe in karma—but I had a feeling. I like the older buildings here. It reminded me of my alma mater. There's a feeling of unity here. A friend thought I would fit in. I didn't know what she meant, but I do fit in.

Like many of their white colleagues who participated in The New Faculty Project, faculty of color felt that overall "it was a good first job." However, unlike many of their white colleagues, faculty of color did not see themselves as staying at their present institutionswith very much longer. With respects to just "fitting in," at the institution, no faculty of color from The New Faculty Project nor from our informal conversations stated that they felt comfortable, that they, "fit in."

Recommendations

Faculty of Color

First, ensure a "good fit" prior to job acceptance. Watch visual cues of faculty. Talk to other junior faculty and graduate students to find out their perceptions of the departmental and

institutional culture and compare with information received from department chair and senior faculty. Second, talk to faculty of color within department and across institution. Find out how faculty of color are treated across the institution and what their perceptions of the institution and your prospective department are. Third, if possible, talk to the person in the position previously and ask about departmental collegiality and support. Many times departments have a pattern of not supporting new faculty, particularly females and minorities. Fourth, ask colleagues to read proposals, listen to presentations or engage in collaborative work. This way you are proactive instead of waiting on senior or junior colleagues to approach you. Fifth, create your own networking system and identify mentors in and outside of department and institution. However, be sure to remain informed regarding what is occurring within your own department and institution. Developing strong relationships with anyone whom you find yourself "connecting" is very important to your success. These relationships will provide the support needed to persist and successfully meet the criteria for advancement in the promotion and tenure process. Remember whatever you are able to develop and implement at your institution today, will not only be of greatest benefit to you but more importantly, to others who will follow tomorrow.

Department Chair

First, encourage and recognize collegial interaction between new faculty and senior faculty. Reward senior faculty who actively make an effort to work with new faculty.

White Faculty

First, consciously promote a welcoming environment for all individuals of color. Second, serve as mentors.

Make sincere efforts to involve faculty of color and facilitate collaborative environments on research opportunities (Tierney & Rhoads, 1994). This will help to build bonds between senior faculty and faculty of color, providing opportunities for increasing publications.

Recommendations for Graduate Students

First, plan your career strategically, find a mentor and be persistent. Second, present at conferences and publish journal articles, book chapters, book reviews, etc. while in graduate school. However, do not commit to too many conference paper presentations, which may cause more stress than benefit. Seek out faculty to assist you in identifying journals to target. Third, choose courses and select class assignments related to your research interests and attempt to get class papers published. Use time wisely. Fourth, make skills known to others in campus community and allow access to useful information. Fifth, join professional associations and attend meetings to develop networks and to discuss ideas with colleagues in field and perhaps even engage in collaborative projects.

Recommendations for White Faculty

First, use the best of affirmative actions policies to squelch the myth that faculty of color are less qualified by making the hiring of faculty of color a priority in each department, campus wide. Second, challenge stereotypes, such as delineating type casting of minority faculty.

Recommendations for Colleges and Universities

Here are five ways colleges and universities can improve the likelihood of promotion and tenure for faculty of color.

1. Anticipatory Socialization: The "fit " between individual and organization

Anticipatory socialization is characterized as taking on the values, norms, skills, etc. of the professoriate during graduate school. The lack of anticipatory socialization of faculty of color is the greatest hindrance to the their overall success in promotion and tenure. Many graduates have no substantial mentoring as graduate students. Blackwell (1988) found one-fifth of minority doctoral students received graduate/teaching assistantships compared to one-third of all doctoral students. A weaker educational institution coupled with poor access to professional training make it difficult for faculty of color to enter academic careers prepared for success. Anticipatory socialization begins with a candidate's initial job inquiry, continues during the recruitment and selection process, and throughout the early period of job performance.

Institutions should ensure that graduate students of color are receiving research assistantships and not just administrative assistantships. This would give graduate students of color practical research experience as well as exposure to the role expectations of a scholar.

2. Orientation Programs: Orienting Faculty to the Institution's Culture

All colleges and universities should have a new faculty orientation program. Fink (1992) argues that such a program would provide faculty with a "head start," letting them know where they are, with whom they are working, and the preferred norms, values and policies. There also needs to be a diversity workshop included as part of the new faculty orientation program. The diversity workshop should focus primarily on cultural/ethnic/gender/racial issues affecting faculty role performance and expectations at that particular institution.

If at all possible the diversity workshop should be coordinated with faculty of color who are already at the institution. However, the institution should avoid making faculty of color feel that they are responsible for organizing and conducting the diversity workshop, otherwise the institution will be perceived as engaged in lip service and in the marginalization of faculty of color.

Fink (1992) notes that an orientation program's primary mission should be orientating new faculty as well as faculty of color to the institution's culture through interaction with senior faculty, other new faculty, and faculty of color across disciplines and departments. Cultivating informal networking opportunities could be even more crucial for ensuring the success of faculty of color (Reid, 1989).

We urge that all orientation programs be mandatory for both new and current faculty. This would ensure that there is no true comfort zone for anyone, and also would demonstrate institutional commitment to the success of all its members. Having all new hires attend an orientation would alleviate some of the anxieties faculty may feel about 'fit.' Because all information would be presented to all, no one group or individual would be perceived as having greater or lesser than any other. Most importantly, the orientation brings about a sense of solidarity through a common experience. This common experience could help move people towards building working relationships.

Wheeler (1992) notes that in order for any orientation process to be most effective, the department chair must be involved. It is the department chair who is most knowledgeable about the information regarding "academic performance standards, policies, and practices for working with graduate students, possible funds for research and issues related to the pursuit of grants, and effective teaching techniques" (Wheeler, 1992, p. 89-90).

3. Promotion and Tenure Handbook: A Survival Guide to Winning the Academic Career Game

Providing new faculty, particularly faculty of color with a handbook of some type that gives basic information prior to their arrival would assist these new faculty during the initial entry stage. A "survival guide" for promotion and tenure should include information regarding formal promotion and tenure policies and procedures; and the common experiences of new faculty, junior faculty, and faculty of color (Tierney & Rhoads, 1994). These suggestions would cultivate understandings of expectations and professional values (Sorcinelli, 1992). The handbook would lessen the intensity of stress that new, junior, and faculty of color feel with regards to the dimension of "unrealistic expectations." This is confirmed by Exum, Menges, Watkins, and Berglund's study (1984) which reported that minorities are highly distressed over their social isolation while sometimes not learning the norms and expectations until too late in the promotion and tenure process.

4. Mentor-Mentee Programs: Collaborative Works in Progress

The mentor-mentee relationship is of central importance for the success of faculty of color in the promotion and tenure process. Boice (1992a) provides five key principles in developing and maintaining an effective mentor program. Typically, mentor-mentee relationships have been based on individuals having a previous relationship based on a "friendship" of some sort. Institutions engaging in mentoring programs should ensure mentors are committed to assisting faculty of color, suggesting that the pairing be based on common interests in research, personal matters, and so on, rather than haphazardly throwing two individuals together who have nothing in common.

Boice also argues for the pairs to be cross-departmental. This could prove especially beneficial in developing open communication and alleviating the fear faculty of color have about annoying or offending a tenured colleague in their department, especially if the department is not known to be culturally sensitive. A cross-departmental mentor-mentee relationship enables faculty to see the survival skills for coping are not specific to cultural backgrounds or to disciplines and helps to build understanding. Having partnerships such as Boice advocates would not only ameliorate the sense of isolation and loneliness faculty of color often feel but also improve the general level of collegiality across the institution. Because of the multiple time demands placed on faculty of color, institutions should ensure that veteran faculty of color are not overloaded as mentors to new faculty of color (Tierney & Rhoads, 1994).

A strong mentor-mentee program requires periodic meetings between mentor and mentee and the opportunity for exploring different teaching practices and research interests. Sorcinelli (1992) notes that the assistance most desired by new and junior faculty, but which could prove even more beneficial to faculty of color, is the need for more teaching support. Boice (1992a) recommends brief visits by the mentor to mentee classes for the purpose of providing constructive feedback based on an agreed checklist. Prior to classroom visitation, the pair should engage in discussion as to the mentee's perceived shortcomings and successes, outlining the expectations for the visit. In addition to the mentor visiting the mentee's class, Boice (1992a) recommends that the mentee visit the mentor's class, in which the mentor demonstrates effective teaching strategies. This recommendation assumes the mentor is a good teacher however, if that is not the case the mentor could recommend a teacher for the mentee to observe who is deemed to be effective.

4. Research and Teaching Productivity: Setting the Agenda and Making it Happen

Mentors and department chairs should ensure that faculty of color are not spending too much time on any one particular activity, such as service. Institutions should involve faculty of color and facilitate collaborative environments on research opportunities (Tierney & Rhoads, 1994). This will help to build bonds between senior faculty and faculty of color, providing opportunities for increasing publications.

The explicit values of the institution should be reflected in the reward system. Institutions should provide systematic, verifiable guidelines to all tenure-track faculty regarding what is necessary for faculty to achieve promotion and ultimately tenure (Tierney & Rhoads, 1994). For example, what is more important, teaching, research contribution, or the value of refereed versus non-refereed articles? Faculty of color should receive a detailed outline and timeline of what materials are necessary for manuscript submissions. By standardizing promotion and tenure procedures, discrimination could not be used to deny individuals who are worthy of advancement.

Institutions should ensure that the dean and/or department chair conducts a formal year-end review or performance appraisal (Tierney & Rhoads, 1994). Yearly reviews will inform faculty of color of their progress, weaknesses, and strengths to ensure they are successful in their pursuit of promotion and tenure.

Additionally, Boice found that faculty who engaged in daily writing experienced less stress and time constraints. Thus, department chairs and senior faculty need to take steps to ensure that faculty of color get into the habit of balancing their workload by allocating time each day to writing, teaching, and service. It is strongly recommended that writing be conducted away from the office, such as at home, where interruptions are minimal.

Closing Remarks

It is paramount that administrators and faculties redefine organizational culture and the affect informal and formal policies/procedures have in defining the role expectations and performances of faculty of color. Once faculties begin to create social environments in which individual perceptions are not clouded by ambiguity, mistrust, and racial stereotyping, will the talents and diverse perspectives that faculty of color bring be embraced. To understand and appreciate diversity, a positive institutional atmosphere enables individuals to set aside their 'masks' to openly and frankly discuss racism and to assess the extent to which stereotyping and misinformed assumptions are being perpetuated (Reid, 1989). Recognizing and legitimating the many talents faculty of color bring to institutions of higher education can only serve to enhance the depth of scholarship. Rewards will be felt at every level by colleagues, disciplines, and institutions (Bronstein, Rothblum, & Solomon, 1993). Faculty and administrators that truly want to embrace diversity should not only assess the socialization experiences of all new and junior faculty, but they should also pay particular attention to the perspectives of faculty of color.

Questions for Reflection and Action

Based on our analysis and interpretations of the interviews as well as information gathered from the literature, we suggest some questions for consideration by college and university administrators (presidents, deans/academic administrators), all faculty, faculty of color, and graduate students. These questions could be used as a means for assessing the organizational and psychological culture of an institution in the role performance and expectations of faculty of color.

Questions for Administrators

1. How many faculty of color have obtained tenure? How many have left the institution prior to review? Why?
2. In what way(s) is your institution/department leading in promoting and tenuring of faculty of color?
3. In what way(s) does your institution/department make it difficult for faculty of color to advance in the promotion and tenure process?
4. In what departments/ disciplines are the majority of the faculty of color at your institution concentrated? Which departments/positions represent the least ethnic/racial diversity? What hiring practices could bring about greater distribution?
5. Do faculty of color have a higher participation rate in service activities than the majority faculty? What impact do service activities have on the community and on the success of faculty of color?
6. Review the five recommendations for colleges and universities. Which of them are lacking in your department, and how can you go about instituting them?

Questions for White Faculty

1. How often do you engage in social activities with colleagues in your department, across departments, at other institutions? And when you do, how often do you include individuals with whom you do not necessarily share mutual interests?
2. How do you make people who are "different" uncomfortable? How do you make them comfortable? What is your own comfort level when associating professionally with faculty of color?
3. How do you reinforce racial/ethnic stereotypes?
4. How do you break down racial/ethnic barriers?
5. In what way(s) do you informally mentor faculty of color in understanding institutional norms and expectations and the promotion and tenure process?
6. Have you made a conscious effort to work with faculty of color on grants, research papers, conference presentations, etc.?

Questions for Graduate Students of Color

1. How often do you participate in department/university functions?
2. In what ways are you gaining teaching and research experience? What area is most lacking? How can you gain more experience?
3. What are your three greatest strengths and greatest weaknesses? How can you make the weaknesses into strengths?
4. Have you created a strategic plan for your career?
5. Identify a key mentor. How can you better utilize his/her expertise?

Questions for Faculty of Color

1. How much are you defined by racial/ethnic identity? It what way(s) does it affect your role and place?
2. How many faculty of color are in your department and institution? Throughout the department and institution's history, how many faculty of color and women have obtained tenure? What does this mean for you in the development of your academic career at this institution?
3. How do administrators represent the institution's culture and racial climate? How do faculty of color perceive the institution's culture and climate?
4. What mentoring programs are in place, and what role (s) do you play in their hindrance/enhancement? Have these programs made a difference in the promotion and tenure of faculty of color?
5. How are faculty of color protected from excessive service burdens.

Questions for all

What attitudes, values, and beliefs permeate your institutional culture? In what ways do they make it difficult for faculty of color? What suggestions do you have for changing those values, attitudes, and beliefs?

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